New Republic

MAY 30, 1949

WHAT THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS WANT

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TIME TO LEAVE JAPAN

EDITORIAL PAGE 6

HAROLD L. ICKES: SALAZAR FRONTS FOR FRANCO

PAGE 15

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE CORRUPTING INFLUENCE of the atomic bomb goes on and on. The United States, ordinarily a level-headed and idealistic nation, has espionage jitters because a pinch of uranium disappears at a laboratory; Senators, normally good fellows, plump for political control of scientific research in non-secret fields. Atomic research by a brilliant student on a government fellowship in a Boston hospital is endangered because of doubts about his loyalty.

His work seems non-military and valuable enough: it involves use of radioactive hydrogen isotopes to determine the state of fluid balance of the body in certain ailments. Encourage him in this? Most of the papers do a tribal dance of hate and fear over the thought, led by the obscurantist Hearst press (which doesn't believe in vivisection, let alone atomic scientists). Where will it end? Well, it takes years to scrub atomic radiation off a battleship deck; God knows how long to scrub the effect of that first Hiroshima bomb from our minds.

We listened last week to Hans Freistadt, 23-year-old avowed Communist, interrogated by the Joint Congressional Committee on his $1,600 atomic fellowship. He looked to us like a frank, earnest, attractive boy going through intellectual growing pains. He was in that state, known to every parent, where it is quite impossible to reason with a son because he has suddenly found a Cause. But Freistadt looked like a terribly bright kid with a scientific, inquiring mind; we bet a dollar he will be out of the party in a year, as practically all the rest of his type are, disillusioned and wiser. The National Research Council, more familiar with youth than the shocked congressmen, was obviously betting on this development. But no more taxpayers' fellowships for the Freistadts from now on.

Last week in this column we mentioned Norman Thomas' fine appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in favor of the Atlantic Treaty. We philosophized over the failure of the Thomas-Socialist Party to attract more supporters through the years in which its views have, nevertheless, been so widely accepted by the older parties. We got this comment from Thomas himself:

"Dear T. R. B.: Blushing over your praise, I nevertheless rise to say that I doubt if the failure of the Socialist Party to grow was due to the 'pacifist-isolationist' (really pacifist-anti-*military* interventionist) slant in World Wars I and II.

"The Social Democratic Federation, which in World War II had no such slant, also did not grow. The American scene, our political and economic situation and our psychology were far less easily adapted to the orthodox Socialist approach than was the case in Europe. And America had Roosevelt, who won over Socialism on the democratic front. NORMAN THOMAS."

We think the foregoing is of some historic interest. At least it is the frank summary of a quarter-century of political striving by a man who never won an election himself but has influenced the nation greatly for all that.

President Truman will shortly propose another cut in Marshall Plan funds on the basis of the decline in prices. One cut has already been made. The total prospective reduction in ECA aid from the two cuts will amount to about six percent, we understand. This voluntary reduction by the White House may forestall a deeper slash by Congress or, on the other hand, it may merely sharpen the legislative economy knives.

The problem of the approaching deficit is as confused as ever. Truman's official position is that Congress must

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WHO'S RIGHT?

Barnard Rubin, in the *Daily Worker* of April 12 labels the *New Republic*

"ANTI-COMMUNIST AND ANTI-SOVIET"

An editorial in the Springfield, Ohio, *Sun* of April 14 damns the *New Republic* as

"JOURNALISTIC APOLOGISTS FOR THE KREMLIN"

The principle involved is worth comment.

● ● The *New Republic's* staff, under the editorship of Michael Straight, believes firmly in democracy. We are opposed to all totalitarianism—anywhere and at any time—whether it calls itself Fascist, National Socialist, Communist or anything else.

But we further believe that . . .

● ● differing ideologies can exist in different parts of the world without going to war about it.

● ● the job of increasing the degree of democracy in any one country is primarily the task of those who live in that country.

● ● the United States is not yet so nearly perfect that it can dictate, on moral grounds, to the rest of the world how it shall run its affairs.

And we believe further:

● ● that the conservative 99 percent of the American press, like the Springfield *Sun*, is emotionally so hostile to Soviet Russia it is incapable of reporting on the USSR fairly and accurately.

● ● just as the *Daily Worker* and its handful of sister publications are equally biased in the other direction.

● ● that, to help steer a middle course, *America needs the New Republic*, which tries to be fair even to those with whom it disagrees and reports facts even when they are unpleasant.

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increase taxes by $4 billion, although there's not the slightest chance that it will.

This insistence on taxes is Truman's way of charging that the deficit is all the GOP's fault anyhow, since it stupidly cut taxes in the first place. Congress is making no headway on sporadic economy cuts, but the real test will come on foreign aid and defense spending. The results here hinge on the course of the Foreign Ministers' conference.

But now a new scheme has been cooked up. Congress would pass the buck to Truman with a rider on a final appropriation bill ordering him to make a five-percent over-all reduction in federal expenditures, whether he likes to or not. The scheme is sponsored by Democratic conservatives like Tydings and Russell. It naturally has the delighted approval of Taft and the Republicans. Since Congress can't do the job itself, it says, in effect: Let us require the executive to do it. The idea is beautifully neat and simple and, we think, rather silly. We just can't see Congress imposing such a burden on a balky President. Furthermore, if the recession gets worse there won't be much talk about balancing the budget anyway.

Notes. FDR Jr. has been elected to Congress; now if he waits 14 years he may get enough seniority to head a committee and have influence. . . . Congress almost certainly will investigate the failure of German decartelization under General Clay reported by the Ferguson commission; AMG is now vindictively firing US officials like Collison and Sacks who testified on how ex-Nazi trusts are being coddled; Truman takes a personal interest in the matter and is reported to be sore. . . . The President's strange new appointee for Navy Secretary, Francis P. Matthews, put his name in 1946 on a leaflet, "Communist Infiltration in the US," as chairman of a committee of the US Chamber of Commerce; it sees Red danger everywhere and denounces the "cynical betrayal of trust at Yalta" (*i.e.*, by FDR).

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 120, NUMBER 22, ISSUE 1800, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 30, 1949 **New Republic**

TIME TO LEAVE JAPAN

ON THE AGENDA of world peace, Japan stands next to Germany. If agreement is reached on Germany by the Council of Foreign Ministers, then the conclusion of a peace treaty for Japan, and the ending of the occupation, become early goals.

There are no basic conflicts on reparations, boundaries, or political institutions to bedevil a peace conference on Japan. The Japanese already live under a democratic Constitution and a representative government. They have held three national elections. They have met the tests for self-government set by the Potsdam Agreement. For these reasons, there is no longer any clear justification for the occupation. But there is a very real danger that America, greeted as a liberator and treated as a guest, may soon outstay her welcome among the Japanese people.

Can the Japanese now be entrusted with independence? Among her forces of aggression, the army has been destroyed and the old bureaucracy dispossessed. Only the Zaibatsu remains. But as long as the Zaibatsu is in a position to regain power, democracy will tremble in Japan and Asia will live in turmoil and fear. All-important are the conditions under which the United States leaves Japan.

Four years ago, MacArthur took over the beaten nation bequeathed by the dictatorship of the Zaibatsu, the army and the bureaucracy. Its state religion of Shintoism sanctified oppression. Its Constitution prohibited liberal reforms and even dangerous thoughts. Its government provided no safeguards of any kind for the individual. Its secret societies perpetuated terrorism. Its ruling group dedicated the whole of life to expansion and war.

MacArthur defined as his purpose the destruction of this system in an orderly but fundamental way. He wrote:

> The need has called for positive action which, while we yet have time, will superimpose here, upon a decadent and discredited past, a system of government and economics which, because their very processes generate a more healthy and virile society, will, even after our controls are lifted, stand as an invincible buttress against the inroads of any conflicting philosophies of life.

In two years, 1945 and 1946, a democratic revolution was carried out in Japan. The imperial way was abolished. A Constitution was adopted guaranteeing full civil rights and complete equality to women. The land was distributed to the farmers at pre-inflation prices. A National Deconcentration Law authorized the break-up of the monopolies held by the Zaibatsu. And seven million Japanese workers joined free trade unions.

These reforms were carried through by the Japanese people. They voted to subordinate the Emperor to the Diet. They elected the legislators. And when corruption was exposed in the Cabinet, it was the Japanese who carried out the prosecution and the punishment of the guilty men. None the less, these measures would never have been carried out if MacArthur had not placed the entire legal and moral force of America behind reform.

Three years later, we are no longer supporting reform in Japan; instead, we are allowing the image of democracy in Japan to become blurred.

Following our 1946 elections, reaction developed in America to the liberalism of MacArthur's occupation. Its spearhead was the American Council for Japan, aided by *Newsweek* magazine, led by old Japanese hands of the State Department and backed by major American corporations with investments in Japan and friends among the Zaibatsu. Its program included the ending of reparations, the suppression of reform in the name of recovery and the reinstatement of the Zaibatsu war criminals purged by MacArthur, whom *Newsweek* praised as "the most active, efficient, experienced, cultured and cosmopolitan section of the nation." Instead *Newsweek* proposed a purge of MacArthur's leading officials, whom it condemned as "fellow travelers—or worse."

These views found willing acceptance in Washington. In the disastrous years in which American foreign policy was made by James Forrestal, William Draper, Robert Lovett and Arthur Vandenberg, MacArthur's objective of the "invincible buttress," progressive in peace and neutral in war, was discarded in favor of a policy of setting up Japan as a reactionary outpost in preparation for the inevitable conflict with Russia.

The Japanese were quick to sense this change. It

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accelerated a swing to the Right within Japan. MacArthur had based his hopes on a government of the Center, with the Democrats in power and the Socialists acting as the Left opposition. The Center held power at first. But it was burdened with the hardships suffered in the early years. And it was disgraced by the scandals which broke in 1948 and which involved not only the Democrats but the ex-secretary of the Socialist Party. Consequently, the workers voted Communist and the farmers rightist in the 1948 elections.

Now Shigeru Yoshida, the rightist leader, and the enemy of all reform, is Premier of Japan. His purpose is to revise the labor laws, to restrict the unions, to abolish price controls and business taxes, to halt the deconcentration program, and to restore the purgees to power. The problem is: will America keep up the pressure for reform?

The 1948 elections did not represent the permanent polarization that undermines democracy. But if Yoshida's program is carried out, then polarization will follow. Already Communist influence is growing in the trade unions. It will gain very rapidly if the unions are curbed. Already the leaders of the Zaibatsu are returning to positions of power. And if the anti-trust laws are revised and the purgees taken back, the vicious circle of prewar days may return, in which the Zaibatsu took subsidies in secret from the government and in turn were able to control the political parties by undercover bribes.

These developments come at a critical moment for Japan. A self-governing Japan, following a peace treaty, must find economic and political acceptance among all nations.

Already the nations which suffered Japanese aggression have been alienated by America's unilateral action in abolishing Japanese reparations. They are resisting the granting to Japan of most-favored-nation treatment. They are maintaining a blockade against Japan of raw materials and markets. Their reason is fear of industrial domination by a potentially aggressive power. If now that fear is confirmed by developments within Japan, the blockade will be tightened.

And yet, as a nation of 81 million people, imprisoned in an arable area one-fifth the size of California, Japan must export industrial goods in order to live. If democracy falters in Japan and she is denied equality in the democratic world, then by the irresistible force of economic pressure, she will join the Communist world of China and the USSR. The paradoxical marriage of extreme Left and Right for Japan is no paradox at all. Just two weeks ago, Sanzo Nozaka, Japan's Communist leader, proposed to a sympathetic group of businessmen and bankers at Tokyo's Industrial Club that the Communists and the Zaibatsu combine to create a federation of "racially minded capitalists" to end white imperialist domination of Asia.

Reaction is no longer the accepted way in Asia. Democracy will survive there as a militant force or not at all. Continued reform is the one chance for democracy in Japan and a precondition of peace. Our only hope is to help the Japanese make the buttress truly invincible "while we yet have time."

THE WEEK

A ROOSEVELT WINS AGAIN

The overwhelming victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. in the 20th Congressional District in New York will have far-reaching consequences. Liberal Democrats now feel that perhaps Tammany's grip on the party in Manhattan can be broken. The shellacking of both Tammany and the American Labor Party may break the alliance between Vito Marcantonio and Frank Costello, overlord of many slot-machine and gambling enterprises. The Liberal Party begins to look on itself as holding the balance of power in New York County. People are already talking of young Roosevelt as a future Governor or Senator. And there is wide comment on the ineptness of Democratic national headquarters in Washington, which plumped for Roosevelt's Democratic Party opponent, Justice Ben Shalleck, shortly before the election, and when it already seemed clear that Roosevelt would win the Congressional seat of the late Sol Bloom.

Beyond this, the election was a tribute to the voters. More than 80,000 votes were cast in a special election, representing 58.9 percent of the total registration. (Special elections rarely bring out 40 percent of the registered voters.)

Second, voters distinguished between the party label and the real issues. Shalleck polled 24,352 votes, or 30 percent; Bloom polled well over 50 percent in regular elections. FDR Jr. polled 31,000 on the Liberal Party line, or nearly 40 percent; in 1948, the Liberal Party candidate polled 10,000 votes, or 9 percent. FDR Jr. got an additional 10,000 on the Four Freedoms line. Annette Rubinstein, ALP, polled 5,000 votes, or 6 percent; in 1948, the ALP polled 15,000, or

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nearly 13 percent. And finally, the unions and "amateur" Democrats gave Tammany a lesson in precinct politics with volunteer workers for FDR Jr. running into the thousands (literally) on Election Day.

PURGE IN THE CIO

In the latest CIO executive board meeting in Washington, Philip Murray and Walter P. Reuther renewed and strengthened the attacks delivered at the Portland convention last year on the CIO's Communist and left wings.

The board voted to withdraw from the World Federation of Trade Unions, on the grounds of Soviet domination of that organization, and warned left-wing CIO unions not to attempt to retain individual affiliation with the WFTU. Murray sharply denounced Harry Bridges, president of the Longshoremen's Union, for circulating criticisms of the CIO national officers among his members, and warned that disciplinary action might be asked of the convention next October.

The left-wing Farm Equipment Workers' Union, which has refused to accept a board mandate to merge with the United Automobile Workers, was told that unless it complied, the convention would be asked to revoke the union charter. The board endorsed the North Atlantic Pact and in a general resolution on left-wing resistance to official CIO policies reëmphasized its determination to enforce majority rule.

The power massed behind Murray and Reuther is so great that, within a year, it seems likely that all substantial left-wing leadership will be ousted. Bridges is under such heavy pressure, partly due perhaps to the refusal of West Coast employers to deal with him unless the contracts are underwritten by the national CIO, that he shows signs of cracking under the strain. Albert Fitzgerald, attempting to maintain a "neutral" position as president of the United Electrical Workers, faces either surrender or repudiation at the next UE convention. As the left wing is forced on the defensive in the CIO, the bulk of the CIO and AFL leadership moves steadily toward ever increasing mutual coöperation for mutual ends.

FREE SPEECH REAFFIRMED

At first glance the Supreme Court's five-to-four decision in the Terminiello free-speech case may not seem to be a resounding victory for civil rights. By reversing the conviction of Arthur Terminiello—a suspended Alabama Catholic priest, the "Father Coughlin of the South"—the Court may appear to have given more comfort to the neo-fascists than to those sincerely interested in our basic freedoms. But actually the decision goes considerably deeper and represents a formidable setback to those who, in the name of national security, have tried to restrict our liberties.

The Court ruled that free speech must apply to extremists who abuse it even if their words bring about public "unrest" and stir people to "anger." The four outstanding liberal Justices —Douglas, Black, Murphy and Rutledge—plus Justice Reed, in their majority opinion declared that the lower court had gone too far, that a function of free speech under our system is to "invite dispute," that, indeed, "it may serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger."

While dissenting Justices Frankfurter and Vinson dealt with purely technical aspects of the case, Jackson, joined by Burton, drew his objections to the majority from his own experiences as American judge in the Nazi war trials at Nuremberg. He agreed that the fundamental, permanent and overriding policy of police and courts should be to permit and encourage utmost freedom of speech. But he objected to removing all restraints on crowds and mobs, making local police authorities powerless to deal with Fascists and Communists who preach destruction of democracy.

Actually, the majority reversed Terminiello's conviction on the ground that the Illinois trial judge went too far in ruling that any person who stirs the public to "anger and unrest" is guilty of "breach of peace." Perhaps the native fascists, the Ku Kluxers, the Red-baiters, will be bolder as a result of the decision. And perhaps the Communists, faced with an onrush of state statutes outlawing their activities, have reason to object. But certainly no court decision will stop either extreme from its activities. And, in these anxious times, there can be no error in a reaffirmation of freedom of speech.

FRIENDS OF FRANCO

A pro-Franco lobby is now concentrating on Congress to drum up support for resuming full relations with Spain. The rash of speeches urging recognition of Spain which have been made on the floor of the House would indicate that the lobby is having effect.

José F. de Lequerica, Spain's Ambassador at Large, who has prolonged an "indefinite" stay in Washington for more than a year, is the frequent host of congressmen at large dinner parties. The Reverend Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, a Catholic priest who delivered the St. Patrick's Day prayer in the House of Representatives, has been openly lobbying for Franco on Capitol Hill. The big man behind the scenes, however, is Jim Farley, operating from the Mayflower Hotel.

One day a parade of Representatives marched to the House well to deliver one-minute speeches urging the Export-Import Bank to give Spain a loan. A reporter discovered Father Thorning standing just outside the door in the cloakroom (where only press and Representatives are permitted), tagging members as they entered the House chamber and requesting that they make speeches.

Those who followed his wishes included: Omar Burleson (D, Tex.), Ed Gossett (D, Tex.), Eugene Cox (D, Ga.), Mendel Rivers (D, S.C.) and John Rankin (D, Miss.). The Southern converts have been told that Spain needs 250,000 bales of cotton and they are willing to bargain.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

In Paris last autumn a high American official commented to this writer that one of the major sources of difficulty in coping with Europe's problems was the simultaneous and uncoördinated existence of three separate sets of American officials, all of them both making and speaking for United States foreign policy. These three were the representatives of the State Department, the ECA and the armed services.

The American official who made the comment was David K. E. Bruce. At the time he was head of the ECA in France. Recently he was appointed American Ambassador to France. The change in his status is relevant to the significance of the important political meeting which began in Paris May 23. In form the meeting is of the Foreign Ministers of the US, the USSR, Britain and France. In substance, however, it brings together Secretary of State Acheson and Foreign Minister Vishinsky in a formal confirmation of the fact that the US and the USSR have already found in bilateral negotiations the basis for joint consideration not only of the German problem but of even greater matters. And this would not be a fact except for a fusion into unity of the previous trinity of American policy-making hierarchies, a sharp decline in the influence of the armed services and, perhaps most important, subordination of political considerations to economic ones.

The conference here may not produce a complete and definitive solution of the German problem. On the other hand, it is most unlikely that it will fail to achieve valuable results. Neither the Americans nor the Soviets can afford a failure. The meeting would not have taken place if both had not realized that the time had come to escape from the sterile and dangerous deadlock which was called the Cold War. Economic realism lies behind this political meeting. If Americans do not recognize this fact, the British do. A great change is taking place in the American official attitude toward the world situation, and the explanation can be found in the domestic economic situation in the United States. The *Manchester Guardian* points out: "Until recently Americans supported a policy designed to restrict their future export markets. With declining domestic business they begin to look for ways to make Europe viable without the loss of American exports. We are, in short, getting down to brass tacks."

Perhaps the most important document published in Europe since the end of World War II is the "Economic Survey of Europe in 1948," drawn up by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. According to this survey, trade within Europe increased by 25 percent but was still 30 percent lower than before the war, largely because of the smallness of Germany's trade. Trade between Western and Eastern Europe was only 42 percent of the 1938 level. Russia's trade with her satellites trebled the trade within Eastern Europe as compared with 1938, but the trade of the smaller countries with Russia was still smaller than their prewar trade with Germany.

Commenting on the survey, the *Manchester Guardian* writes:

A general expansion of exports will not in itself remove the dollar deficit. For that, either the increase in exports would have to be concentrated in the United States market—where it would be necessary to sell about 300 percent more—or else conditions must be created in which European countries could convert their surplus earnings in other areas into dollars on a large scale. At present Europe's payments deficit has its counterpart in the American surplus with the whole world. There are only three possible lines of solution to the problems of Europe and the United States. Europe can expand exports, curtail imports, or go on borrowing. The United States can expand imports, curtail exports or go on lending.

The implications are plain: trade barriers must be removed not only among Western European nations but between Western and Eastern ones; American planning for the future must be adjusted to Soviet planning; steps must be taken to get rid of the postwar forms of that economic monstrosity—autarchical self-sufficiency of continents as well as of nations. The Paris conference is a step along the road toward international economic coöperation, if not of planning.

Obviously, Asia also fits into this pattern. Here too the British have a relevant comment. The London *Economist* writes:

Although, in theory, Communism is equally opposed to all capitalist and imperialist governments, in practice the world Communist movement has always shown greater hostility to Britain than to any other power. Today, of course, Moscow sees in the United States its most powerful rival; yet its anti-American propaganda does not have the same emotional undertone which marks its denunciation of Britain. One reason for this is that Britain has the largest colonial empire. . . . Perhaps the main reason for Communist hatred of Britain is the half-conscious allegiance to Czarist foreign policy. . . . Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that the destruction of the British Commonwealth in its present form has a very high priority, perhaps the highest, in Soviet policy.

The conservative British publication only skirts the real issue, however. This is that even the present British Commonwealth clings to the economics of the old-fashioned nineteenth-century colonialism, which in its way is a greater obstacle than the European Iron Curtain to healthy modern international economic coöperation and planning. The United States does not want the destruction of the British Commonwealth, but on the other hand it does vigorously oppose the continuation of the old colonialism; and in this opposition there is the making of some common ground with the Soviets on an economic policy for the future of Asia. The meeting in Paris this week suggests that American foreign policy is finally becoming modern and universal.

PERCY WINNER

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HE MADE PEACE IN PALESTINE

Ralph Bunche, leader of the Negroes of the world today, gets ahead by practising the fine art of graceful compromise

by Homer Metz

ON MAY 9 of this year, something amazing happened in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City. A whole roomful of distinguished people got to their feet and applauded furiously as a middle-aged, stocky, bright-eyed American Negro was given a citation by the American Association for the United Nations for "distinguished and unselfish service in advancing the ideas of the United Nations." President Truman sent a message expressing his thanks and admiration, and among the speakers were Mrs. Roosevelt, Trygve Lie and Jean Chauvel, president of the UN Security Council.

A few days earlier, the recipient of these honors had stood before an equally large group of cheering citizens at New York's Town Hall, where he got its Distinguished Service Award. And about the same time, the press began to predict that he would soon be made Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and African Affairs. He has already been acting associate chief of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs.

As you have guessed, I am writing about Ralph Bunche, the man who contributed so importantly to the restoration of peace in Palestine. Many people object to identification of a Negro as such, in newspapers and magazines; and in general, theirs is a good principle. In this case, however, to apply the rule would be to miss an important part of the whole story. For Dr. Bunche is today a symbol of hope, pride and leadership for all Negroes everywhere. The fact that a member of their race could go so far as he has done, with no help from anybody, has become an important fact in the minds of millions of them, throughout the world. It is no accident that in South Africa, where anti-Negro discrimination is at least as bad as it is in the United States, his picture today hangs on the walls of many native huts.

DRAWING BY FRASCO

Ralph Bunche is the grandson of a slave, the son of a Detroit barber. When he was a small child, his mother, a musician, got tuberculosis and the family moved to New Mexico. Ralph was twelve when his father and mother both died, within a few weeks of each other, and he went to Los Angeles to live with his maternal grandmother. There he attended high school, and on graduation day, an incident occurred which he never forgot. The high-school principal, meeting him in the hall, slapped him on the back.

"You're all right, Ralph," said the principal. "You know, I never think of you as a Negro at all."

"This hit me harder than all the many times I have been told I wasn't wanted, in all sorts of public places," says Dr. Bunche. "I always knew that something could be done about Jim Crow laws. But what can you do about a man like that principal?"

One thing he could do was to go ahead and get the best education available; luckily, he was in California, which does not practise segregation in college. He got a scholarship and, to earn extra money, he worked as a janitor, as mess boy on a coastal steamer, as a carpet layer. He was graduated from UCLA *summa cum laude* and Phi Beta Kappa. Then followed a period of teaching at Howard, the Negro university in Washington, D. C.; master's and doctor's degrees from Harvard, work with the Institute of Race Relations at Swarthmore, and with the Carnegie Corporation. He helped Gunnar Myrdal on his monumental study of Negro-white relations in the United States (and got run out of an Alabama town for asking embarrassing questions while doing field work for that classic study). In between, there were several years of post-graduate study of anthropology, including field work in Africa; a trip around the world and a small book about it; three months' living with the Kikuyu tribe in Africa as an honorary member.

When the war began, his intimate knowledge of conditions among people in colonial areas in Africa and the Far East was of considerable value to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He furnished most of it while a member of the swashbuckling "cloak and dagger" Office of Strategic Services.

Bunche played an important part in the preparations for the invasion of North Africa. In 1944, he was transferred from the OSS to the State Department, and by 1945 he was acting associate chief of its Division of Dependent Area Affairs, the first Negro ever to become a "desk officer" in the Department. At the San Francisco Conference he was a consultant on trusteeship questions, and helped write some of the provisions of the United Nations Charter on that subject. In 1946 he was loaned to the UN by the State Department as Director of the Trustee Division of the Secretariat. Late in 1947, he was appointed chief of the Secretariat of the UN-Palestine Commission, to his keen regret. He remarked to friends at the time that the Palestine problem had stirred up such bitter feeling he hoped he would never have to deal with it.

When Count Folke Bernadotte was

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named UN mediator, Bunche was selected for his chief assistant. The two men became close friends and worked together in complete harmony. When Bernadotte was murdered in September, 1948, Bunche was the inevitable choice to be his successor. The result of his work, the whole world knows.

As it turned out, he was exactly suited for the difficult task of bringing Arabs and Jews together. He is soft-spoken and endlessly patient. He is cordial and pleasant—many people think, too much so. Like Franklin Roosevelt, he is often accused of agreeing too completely with anyone to whom he talks. But this is because people mistake careful and sympathetic listening for acquiescence; actually, there is plenty of iron in the man. Never in his life has he consciously evaded a challenge. On the surface, at least, nothing ever seems to discourage him or to put him out of patience.

When Bunche went to Rhodes he had three strong weapons to wield. He had a Security Council resolution calling upon the Palestinian combatants to replace their succession of uneasy truces with an armistice. He had the incontrovertible fact that the Israeli armies, through their impressive victories, had rendered largely academic the question of who should control either the territories allotted to Israel under the General Assembly's partition plan or the wastes of the Negeb. (In other words, the Israelis had won the war and won it decisively.) He also was aware that world opinion had wearied of the recurrent hostilities and that whichever side failed to agree to peace would have to face the consequences.

He found the Israeli negotiators, strong in the knowledge of their military position, determined to dictate the terms of the armistice. They wanted the prospective pact to be (a) de-facto, if not de-jure, recognition by Egypt and the other Arab states that Israel had won the war and that it existed as a state; (b) ratification of their conquest of the Negeb; (c) a pledge by the Egyptians to keep their armed forces behind their own frontiers. In short, the Israelis sought to impose a victor's peace.

The Egyptians, on the other hand, entered the talks with these objectives: (a) to preserve the illusion among their home population that they, and not the Israelis, had gained the upper hand in the fighting; (b) that the discussions would deal with only a conclusion of hostilities and that they be conducted on the military, not the diplomatic, level; (c) that no question of Israel's status as a sovereign nation be involved.

Bunche was confident that the weapons with which he had to work were powerful enough to make an armistice a certainty. The day he arrived on Rhodes he told some of his associates that neither side would dare to assume responsibility for a resumption of fighting. At the same time he realized clearly the strength of the Israeli position and knew there was no way in which the Tel Aviv representatives could be kept from specifying the basic terms of the peace.

His problem, as he saw it, was to extract as many concessions as he could from the Israelis without denying them their basic demands, and to save face for the defeated Egyptians. Thus when he took his seat at the conference table he did little more than invite the negotiators to start talking. He listened attentively to the Israeli claims, offering neither approval nor disapproval. He noted that the Egyptians had sent only military men and listened without comment to their assertions that the talks must not be on the diplomatic level.

In the beginning this seemingly negative approach was disturbing to both sides. The Israelis privately expressed the view that the talks probably would go better if Bunche stayed out of them, while the Egyptians criticized the Acting Mediator for not doing enough. However, Bunche knew what he was about. The important thing was to keep both sides talking.

By degrees, through cajolery, he pacified the Egyptians, giving them the impression that he regarded their bargaining position as equal to that of the Israelis. Ultimately he succeeded in persuading them that Israel existed as a state whether they liked it or not, and that an armistice would have validity only if the Egyptian negotiators agreed to it as representatives of the Cairo government as well as of the Egyptian armed forces. Meanwhile, he extracted small concessions from the Israelis regarding their positions in the Negeb, especially the desert area's outlet to the Red Sea.

The result of all this was that the Israelis got substantially what they wanted and the Egyptians were able to save face to some degree. Bunche's task had been to get both sides to make peace on the basis of the existing military and political realities with a minimum of friction, and in this he succeeded admirably. The pattern of the armistice had been laid down by the course of events. The Acting Mediator's function was primarily that of a psychologist, an expert in personality adjustments.

To this task Bunche was able to bring a remarkable degree of patience, an incredible capacity for hard work, and a deep conviction, born of his own experience, that no human problem is incapable of solution.

It is perhaps the greatest tribute to Dr. Bunche's skill that when the negotiations were ended, spokesmen for both sides were prepared to pay tribute to him. Said Israel's Walter Eytan: "The main share of the credit must go to Dr. Bunche; without him, nothing would have been achieved." At almost the same moment, Egypt's Seif ed-Din called him "undoubtedly one of the world's greatest men."

Those who know him best say that all the praise that has been heaped upon him is unlikely to turn the head of this modest, intelligent and realistic man. The same qualities which helped him to mediate one of the toughest single problems the United Nations has faced—and thereby bolster its prestige at a critical moment in its history—will help him to bear with dignity his tremendously important role as the intellectual and moral leader, at least for the time being, of the Negro race throughout the world.

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GERMAN SOCIALISTS' DILEMMA

The SDP is confronted on the one hand by Russian ruthlessness and on the other hand by our devotion to "free enterprise"

by Karl Mommer

Dr. Karl Mommer, a leader of the German Social Democratic Party, was a student when Hitler came to power. He was arrested in 1934 and sentenced to 21 months' imprisonment for underground activity. After his release he escaped rearrest by fleeing to Belgium, where he was graduated at Brussels University. In 1940 he was interned in a Vichy concentration camp in Southern France. He again escaped the Gestapo and joined the French Resistance. In 1946 he went back to Stuttgart, Germany, where he became a member of the executive board of the Social Democratic Party of Wuerttemberg-Baden as well as a member of the Bizonal Parliament, the Economic Council. He is at present in the United States, studying American democracy at the invitation of our Military Government.

THE Social Democratic Party, to which I belong, may soon be the most powerful party in Western Germany. Today, if free elections were held throughout Germany, it would win a clear majority of the votes cast. Backed by the trade unions, and inheriting a long tradition of opposition to Fascism and Communism, it is the best hope of democracy and internationalism in Germany. But it is a self-willed party, independent of outside control. It cannot be used.

The leaders of the Social Democratic Party won their present positions in the fight against National Socialism. In or out of concentration camps, in the German underground, or the resistance forces of other countries, they fought as well as they could. And if the war aims of the Atlantic Charter had been maintained then for the Social Democrats, the victors would have come to Germany as liberators, rather than as conquerors.

The replacement of Atlantic Charter policy by the unconditional-surrender policy of Teheran and Yalta could not but change the attitude of the Social Democrats toward the Allies. Not that they had shifted to the Nazis' side. The Nazi regime was so criminal that everything that followed seemed like progress by comparison. And yet inevitably any representative political party, if it keeps its self-respect, must find itself in disagreement in many fields with its conquerors. The Social Democrats are no exception, and this is the key to our present position concerning the future of Germany.

From the very beginning it was clear to us that coöperation with the Eastern victor would be difficult if not impossible. Our party leaders were never fooled by propaganda (which came from East and West) about "freedom-loving nations." They knew the Bolshevik dictatorship resembled that of the Nazis in its inhumanity.

But even then our party was ready to try the impossible: to find a *modus vivendi*. The Russians seemed to be ready to try too, until they saw the results of the first local elections. Then they learned that with a free Social Democratic Party in the Soviet zone, their obedient servant, the Communist Party, wouldn't get even 10 percent of the votes. Then democracy in the Soviet zone went the way it had gone in the satellite nations. Brutal terror helped the Social Democrats of the Soviet zone to decide to unite with the Communists in the Socialist Unity Party. As long as this kind of unity exists, it means that no relations other than uncompromising hostility are possible between the Social Democrats and the Soviet occupying power. Kurt Schumacher, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, is the man most hated by the Bolsheviks in all Germany. And Schumacher hates the Soviet regime as much as he hated the Nazis, and for the same reasons.

DRAWING BY NEUWIRTH

KURT SCHUMACHER

A few other points must be made to explain the attitude of the Social Democratic Party toward German unity. The unification of our nation has always been an important plank in the Social Democratic program. Today, together with the bonds of common language, culture and history, belief in the unity of Germany has become deep-rooted in the German people, and for many of them it is beyond the control of reason. It has been used, and is being used again, to lure the German people into accepting something they do not want—at least not a second time—totalitarianism. The Social Democratic Party has taken a stand in opposition to this trend. It wants freedom *and* German unity, but if a choice were inescapable, it would choose freedom on a small area of German soil rather than a single Germany united under a regime of slavery.

Given the Soviet policy of expansion in Europe, and its methods, the Social Democrats understood that there was no possibility of achieving unity *and* liberty in Germany. They concluded that the Western Allies and the German conservatives were wasting their time and aiding Communist propaganda when they spoke of German unity. This conclusion was painful. For the Social Democrats knew that the Germans in the Eastern zone looked to them for protection against abandonment forever to Russian dom-

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ination and Communist tyranny. They knew also that today, as in the Weimar Republic, the natural strongholds of Social Democracy are in the Soviet zone, in the states of Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg, and in Berlin. Election results in the Western zone and Berlin and inside information about public opinion in the Soviet zone indicate that the Social Democrats would get a clear majority if free elections were held for all Germany, whereas today, in the Western zones alone, there is a conservative majority.

Since Soviet influence would ebb in Europe following a Social Democratic victory in free German elections, these elections may be proposed by the Allies. If, for reasons of over-all strategy, the Russians should agree, then unity and freedom might become a reality for Germany. But if at the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers the Allies should compromise on freedom for all Germany, then the compromise would fail because it would never be accepted by democratic Germans.

But assume for a moment that the USSR is prepared to suffer a political defeat in the Eastern zone and that free elections, representative institutions and full civil liberties can be assured for the foreseeable future for all Germany. Following the elections, a new German government would be formed by the Social Democrats. Internally, it would press forward with social reform. Where would it fit into the world picture?

There is a great fear in the Western world that any free German government, regardless of its political outlook, by the force of national interest alone, would sooner or later ally itself with Russia. As far as the Social Democrats are concerned, there will never be a deal with Russia against the Western powers. As long as no political conditions are attached, we certainly must try to trade with the East as much as possible. But our party chairman has often bitterly assailed those Germans who believe that Germany has any real freedom of choice in her political orientation toward East or West. He points out the disastrous consequences of the collaboration of the generals of the Reichswehr with the Red Army.

The recovery of internal and national freedom of Germany depends entirely on the Western democracies, and especially on the US. For economic recovery, for the tremendous task of rebuilding our ruined country, we depend very much on American help. The more the Western powers approach the German problem without vengeance and fear, the more they try to integrate Germany as an equal member into a European society, the more the Germans can be trusted to see where their preferences as well as their real interests are—on the side of liberty.

If anything, today, it is the Germans who fear that the Western powers might make a deal with Russia that would endanger their liberty.

For this reason, Dr. Schumacher proposed that the Germans be heard as a fifth power before the Council of Foreign Ministers. Here, even more than in the planning of a Western German state, a point has been reached where it is no longer possible to make decisions about German democracy without hearing the German democrats.

The Communist Party is an extension of the Russian will. The Social Democrats are a party of "coöperation but not submission." Wherever democratic freedom is at stake in the East-West conflict, they never have the slightest hesitation. They are on the Western side. But holding freedom dear, they intend to make full use of it in their relations with the Western occupation powers.

Since Western Germany has three military masters and pressing economic conflicts, the Social Democrats are certain to take issue with the Allies on major questions of economic and political democracy. In particular, relations with France have been bad. Here the principal stumbling block is the traditional stand of the Social Democrats in the support of a centralized state. The French government, and still more its Gaullist opposition, reject this position, for they feel that a centralized Germany is a strong Germany and a threat to France.

The Social Democratic Party does not try to brush aside these arguments. But it maintains that security cannot be established by hampering a newborn democratic government in its tremendous task of rebuilding Germany on new moral, social and political foundations. All that weakens democracy in Germany, all that lowers living standards, all that restricts social reform, is dangerous for world security. Security can be found in the political field only by a thriving democracy. Security can be found in the military field by the demilitarization of Germany and by defensive alliances. The Social Democratic Party does not oppose these policies, although it prefers to this old-fashioned procedure the constructive approach of integrating Germany as a member state into a strong United States of Europe. Opposition to annexations, to the imposition of constitutional formulas, to the dismantling of peaceful industries, is not in contradiction to our supranational ideals. It has nothing to do with nationalism, as we understand and reject nationalism. It is simply a human reflex that all peoples share.

England has suffered less by Hitler's war than France; she feels less danger for her security in a strong Germany than does France. England has a Labour Government. Many German Social Democratic leaders lived and fought in England during the Nazi period and came to know English labor leaders. So our relations with England are better. There has been only one major conflict between us. Like France, England has been tenacious in clinging to the dismantling of industries for reparations despite the reversal of the Morgenthau approach to German industry under ERP. The Social Democrats always maintained that Morgenthau's ideas were dangerous nonsense, and that in the successive industry plans for Germany this nonsense diminished in quantity, but in essence did not change. There is a widespread convittion in Germany that concern over competi-

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tion in exports determined Britain's attitude toward the dismantling of the plants and the limitation of industrial production. So the dispute between the Social Democrats and the Labour Government appears to be a jurisdictional dispute among German and English workers as to who is entitled to produce for the world market.

Opposition to the dismantling program does not mean opposition to any kind of reparations. The Social Democratic Party knows that Hitler was responsible for the war. In judging its own role, it does deny collective guilt, but it does not deny collective responsibility. It therefore recognizes the right to reparations of countries devastated by German armies. And yet, as long as Germany is not self-sustaining, reparations in any form must finally be paid for by the American taxpayer.

There is a queer kind of relationship between the Social Democrats and the US Military Government. The Social Democrats realize that the US is the only serious military protection against Bolshevik expansion in Germany. On the other side, the US Military Government could be a basis for close coöperation. It is largely spoiled by the divergent conceptions about the social and economic future of Germany. American Military Government has opposed important laws that would democratize the Western German economy. We Social Democrats disagree with those forces in AMG who believe that a free-enterprise economy is the only workable one and that US influence should be used to impose it regardless of local needs. The policy followed by AMG channeled water to the mills of Communist propaganda which try to present the United States as an imperialist, capitalist, reactionary, oppressive power.

In the forthcoming battles for Germany, the attitude of the Social Democratic Party will be what it was in past years: independent action striving toward international democratic socialism. The party will be firm in working for this goal. Respect and understanding in the democratic world will be the finest reward it can hope for.

U. S. LABOR: A BRITISH VIEW

by R. H. S. Crossman

LONDON

WHAT WOULD have happened to British labor during the last hundred years if Napoleon had won and we had grown up in a United States of Europe? Should we now be loyal members of a European Labor Party, with a clear-cut socialist program?

If we are to draw any analogies between American and British labor, we can only do so by posing the problem in this kind of way. Nothing is more irritating to Americans than the bland assumption that they must follow our tight little British example. Consider only one other difference—that caused by the American "division of powers." Here in Britain everything is made as easy as possible for a party of reform which has a program and is determined to push it through. It has five years to do the job, with no intervening elections; party discipline provides the Cabinet with a stable majority in Parliament; there is no Supreme Court to challenge the constitutionality of, for instance, the reform of the House of Lords; no division between executive and legislature; no problem of states' rights; and there is an efficient and incorruptible Civil Service ready to carry out with precision whatever orders are given.

Contrast the problems which face President Truman and the American labor leaders in putting the Fair Deal into action. Reform in the US has never been achieved by a disciplined party winning an election and pushing through its legislative program. It has always been the piecemeal resultant of a struggle of personalities and pressure groups, which cuts right across the two-party system. With elections every second year, the President has no stable parliamentary majority; the Constitution is not the bark of a growing tree, but a Procrustean bed to which he is tied; and his own party is not a loyal army but a crowd jostling round the pork barrel.

It is essential to remember these differences in assessing the political future of American labor. The very idea of a homogeneous Socialist Party is a violation of the American way of life. Such a party can emerge for a time in a single state, but, if it tried to impose itself on the country as a whole, it would be repudiated as totalitarian. The Fair Deal will never be achieved by a labor movement which copies European tactics, or by well-intentioned liberals who have transferred their attachment for Soviet creches to British socialized medicine. In the past, American labor leaders have often behaved as though they still retained their membership cards in the Socialist Parties of their countries of origin. With the end of large-scale European immigration, this political inferiority complex is vanishing. Though most of the leaders I met are sons of Socialists, or themselves one-time Socialists, they no longer feel a sense of shame that America has no "proper" Socialist Party. They realize that they must achieve their political objectives by the methods of American politics.

This means, in the first place, that labor must become a really effective lobby, both at federal and state level. For the lobby is often a more important instrument of policy-making than the party.

The lobby, however, is only effective on specific issues. The legislator can be "pressured" into rescinding the Taft-Hartley Act or supporting federal housing, but the method fails when it comes to a whole program, like the Fair Deal. So the need arises to elect legislators who are not merely pledged to support certain labor proposals but can represent labor consistently. What is needed is a labor caucus in the Sen-

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ate and House. Such a caucus could never hope to be more than a Congressional minority. But under a Democratic President, a minority which knows its own mind, and is prepared to make tactical alliances, could put most of the Fair Deal through—in a period of six to eight years. This labor caucus, however, does not exist today. In contrast with the well-organized Dixiecrats, the New Liberals, despite the excellent work of the ADA, are a collection of individuals. Labor has so far been unable to organize any expression of its policy in Congress.

But has it got a policy? "Your program of nationalization was made inevitable by neglect and incompetence. We're not going to let it become inevitable over here." This definition of labor's aims by Dave McDonald of the Steelworkers is a good enough beginning. Most union leaders regard British Socialism as an admission of British industrial failure; and they argue that, by taking steps now to conserve resources and ensure capital re-equipment by federal planning, America could make state ownership of transport, coal and steel quite unnecessary. They see the problem not as one of class power, but of efficiency; and some of them on this score are highly critical of British trade unionists with whom they have talked.

There is something in this criticism, as we are now discovering, when nationalization has not automatically cured the evils of capitalism. American unions have certainly gained in efficiency and self-confidence by refusing all such socialist "alibis." If their dues are high, many of them provide value for the money; and their standard of organization, research and education is amazingly high. Paradoxically, though they are opposed to state ownership—as distinct from social security and the planned economy—many of them are far better prepared than ours to take over an industry if ever the need arose.

Perhaps, after all, a coherent policy is a European refinement which American labor does not need. Roosevelt's New Deal was not an issue in his election campaign, because he had never thought of it before he entered the White House: it was a purely pragmatic reaction to the slump. It may be, therefore, that America will evolve its planned economy not self-consciously and under deliberate political leadership, but through a series of pump-priming efforts to preserve capitalism. In that case, apart from a caucus in Congress and a political machine in the industrial areas, labor's main requirement will be men capable of handling managerial problems who can take charge when the Second New Deal appears from nowhere. Such men the unions are already training in large numbers.

But if political opportunism is the order of the day in domestic affairs, this does not apply to foreign policy. The Communist purge forced the movement to think hard about international affairs, and the AFL and CIO support for the Marshall Plan was a conscious act of policy. It was not in the least motivated by the desire to export unemployment, but by the belief that Western Europe needed American aid to defeat Communism. Most British Socialists—and I include myself in the number—have been unimaginative and ungrateful in failing to recognize the role which labor has played in shaping the Marshall Plan and in ensuring that it assisted the "non-Communist Left" in Europe. In countless talks, I found that union leaders, in what were once centers of hard-boiled isolationism, have a sound appreciation of the differences between a liberal and a reactionary foreign policy. They are by no means uncritically content with the Atlantic Pact. They regard the handling of Greece and the overtures to Franco Spain as disastrous, and they rightly feel that ECA would be improved if more trade unionists were recruited to high positions. What really infuriates them is the assumption so many of us have made over here that American policy is hysterically anti-Communist whereas Labour Britain is really striving for peace. Apart from India, they see nothing very liberal about the foreign policy of the Labour Government.

Here we reach the hub of the problem. Without much encouragement from our side of the Atlantic, American labor has proved itself a reliable friend in our hour of need. Marshall aid may be a sound investment from the point of view of a few capitalists, but millions of ordinary workers gladly paid for it in taxation and did not get a cent out of it. Now they are being asked to pay for lend-lease as well, although they know that not even the US can finance the rearmament of the Atlantic powers and a Fair Deal in the same budget. One very simple reason why most Americans—and the whole of American labor—desire the end of the cold war, is that they are paying for it, whereas Western Europe is benefiting from it. Before we talk any more about "the American vested interest in Marshall aid," we should remember there is a much stronger case for the suspicion that Britain has a vested interest in American-Russian dissension.

This suspicion could threaten Anglo-American coöperation. Anti-British feeling has only been suppressed by the greater fear of Communist Russia. Among American businessmen there is a widespread belief that the success of British Socialism will increase the pressure for the Fair Deal, and this does not decrease their hatred of the Labour Government. The fact is that only Liberal-Labor America can be really friendly to us, and this friendship must be based on real mutual understanding. At the moment, American labor shows much more tolerance and understanding of us than we do of it. It is high time that we forbade ourselves the luxury, in our Socialist thinking, of generalized anti-Americanism; acknowledged the role which American labor has played since 1940; and admitted to ourselves that its political aims are as progressive as our own even if they are not described as Socialism. Lastly, and most important of all, we should stop giving patronizing advice to our friends in America, and assume that we have at least as much to learn from them as they from us, and that neither can gain by copying the other.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: We "Abstain" on a Moral Issue

ON MAY 11, Secretary of State Acheson announced, according to the New York *Herald Tribune,* that "the United States would shun the initiative in restoring full diplomatic relations with Spain because the Franco regime remained a symbol of Fascism." This followed by a few days what amounted to a plea for Franco's Spain before the United Nations by Secretary Acheson's close personal friend and protégé, Ray Atherton.

"Symbol" indeed! Franco's Spain, as everyone in the State Department ought to know, is Fascism indecently naked. It spends more than 50 percent of its revenues, wrung from a half-starved population, to maintain an army of 422,000 men. Franco's soldiers constitute a privileged class whom this mimic of Hitler coddles to keep the Spanish people in dire poverty. Secretary Acheson went on to say that "Spain... [was] the living symbol of a system the United States had [sic!] fought to destroy."

This was only a half truth. Frankness should have compelled Acheson to say that Franco's Spain was *one* of the two last living "symbols" of Fascism in Europe. Portugal, under Salazar, is, as is Spain, a Fascist nation. I can understand the reluctance of the State Department to admit that Salazar's Portugal is of the same Fascist stripe as Franco's Spain. It, too, chokes the breath out of liberty in a police state. These two dictators are twins in political iniquity. Tolerance of them gives the lie to the protestations of the democratic states that those associated together in the United Nations propose to continue to insist, until it shall come to pass, that the torch of liberty shall be lighted and kept lighted in all countries.

We have the right to expect something better than the ambiguous play from Atherton to Acheson. It is not in character for the United States to "abstain" on an international moral issue. Unhappily, we find a continuance of the intellectual celibacy that has caused the State Department to be regarded with suspicion by Americans who believe that they are entitled to know the truth. The people are tired of being led, blindfolded, through a maze in which it is difficult to distinguish between what is true, what is half true and what has no truth in it. As in the past, the State Department apparently does not believe that to the people belongs the right to determine what their foreign policy should be. Why has Atherton spoken with one voice at Lake Success and Acheson with another in Washington?

As in the case of Greece and Turkey, we sometimes find ourselves balked by a *fait accompli.* When a moral issue is involved, we expect our State Department to stand up and fight in the traditional American way. It is self-stultification to "abstain" when rank Fascism rears its menacing head within a temple dedicated to democracy. Unfortunately, the State Department is regarded by its cultists as an esoteric sanctuary for a spatted few. Its exclusiveness may not be violated. Here, insulated from the uninitiated, abide our exalted untouchables.

Walter Lippmann may be right in saying that there should have been no break in our diplomatic relations with Spain. There is much to support the view that, regardless of the ideology of the government to which we may send a representative, our interests do not necessarily require one in the highest echelon. As a matter of fact, we now have a chargé d'affaires in Madrid as Spain has in Washington, and this constitutes diplomatic representation, regardless of the level. Moreover, as I pointed out in an earlier article, Spain has in this country unofficial representation in the person of Nazi-minded Dr. José de Lequerica, who has been here sub rosa for a year, more or less, with the knowledge, if not the consent, of our State Department.

Admitting the validity of Lippmann's argument for an exchange of diplomats even between nations that, ideologically, are irreconcilable, Franco's Spain should not be admitted to the UN or the North Atlantic Pact unless it genuinely adheres to democratic principles. It may be taken for granted that the battle lost recently at Lake Success will be renewed, although in this event it is to be hoped that the State Department will not again try to carry water on both shoulders.

It will continue to be argued by such "statesmen" as James A. Farley that Spain should be allowed to join the Atlantic Pact because Salazar's Portuguese dictatorship has been able to insinuate itself into a group that is supposedly dedicated to the principles of democracy. However, two wrongs do not make a right. I am confident that if the American people had known Salazar as intimately as they are acquainted with Franco, they would have protested the stultifying association of democratic countries with one that continues to deny liberty to the Portuguese people, just as Franco has denied it in Spain.

Franco needs money to sustain his tottering economy. So does Salazar. America has been so prodigal abroad that we are properly concerned about the maintenance of our own economy upon which depends the well-being of our people. Apparently, it was the hope of our State Department to smooth the way for the early admission of Franco into the UN or the Atlantic Pact, or both. This conclusion alone will reconcile the Atherton speech with our inglorious abstention on a moral issue. Without more American millions (following the regrettable example of the Chase National Bank of New York), it is not unlikely that Franco dictatorship will soon tumble and the Salazar dictatorship with it. In such an event, the people of both countries would at least have a chance to enjoy the liberty we favor on Sundays and the Fourth of July.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

FEUDAL RIGHTS AND PUBLIC FREEDOM

by A. J. P. Taylor

MAGNA CARTA, as the foundation of liberty, has been a good deal flyblown in recent years. Liberty, on examination, has turned into "liberties"—the privileges of a class, the baronage; or of a corporation, the Church. In fact, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that British constitutional history in modern times records the destruction of the conceptions of privilege expressed in the Great Charter. Of course it may be that we are now off on the other tack again and that common law will soon be applied only to those who are not bureaucrats or members of some privileged body, such as a trade union (in England, at least) or the Roman Church.

MAGNA CARTA: Its Role in the Making of the English Constitution, 1300-1629, by Faith Thompson (The University of Minnesota Press; $6.50).

Still, fraud or reality, Great Charter or great myth, the curious feudal document signed by John and confirmed by his successors became in time the starting point of constitutional demands and, indeed, the foundation of the British Constitution. Faith Thompson's book is the story of this evolution. What men thought of Magna Carta, not what it was, provides her theme; a fascinating theme, admirably developed. It would be unfair to treat her book simply as a work of scholarship or as an excuse for reflections on the illusions of later generations. The book is good entertainment in itself, whether you care for Magna Carta or whether you don't; and Professor Thompson confesses as much. She started with a serious scholarly purpose (which she has fulfilled); yet she writes at the end that she has "enjoyed the tale more than the moral, the proponents of the Charter more than the theories they propounded." Only so is good history written.

The idea or myth of the Charter has two distinct phases—the later Middle Ages in which it was a living, though decaying, part of legal doctrine, and the period of revival until it was triumphantly placed on its pedestal by the parliamentary opponents of Charles I. As one might expect, the two phases prove, on closer examination, to be less distinct than is commonly supposed. There was an element of legend-making in the later Middle Ages—the element which had already transformed "by the law of the land" into "due process of [common] law," a charter, in fact, for all "free men" (another legendary phrase). Similarly, "judgment of peers"—a baronial privilege—slid imperceptibly into trial by jury, though this development was not complete until the seventeenth century. Despite these foretastes of the future, Magna Carta, as quoted in the fourteenth (or, more rarely, in the fifteenth) century, was regarded as a document of private law, regulating various feudal customs to the benefit of the great landowner. Moreover, as time went on, the principal beneficiaries appeared to be the two privileged bodies, the Church and the City of London.

Antiquarianism set in with the Tudors and the coming of the printing press; this is the most novel part of Miss Thompson's book. Magna Carta took on two practical applications in Tudor times (both, of course, unconnected with its origin): the lawyers began to use it as an assertion of the common law against the prerogative courts of the Crown, and the Puritans applied it, in particular, against the Court of High Commission. By its aid they won the battle against the oath that could compel a man to incriminate himself (at any rate until the days of Congressional inquiries).

These were preliminary displays of virtuosity. The great era of the Charter came with Sir Edward Coke and his discovery that the Charter vindicated not only the common law, but also the liberty of the subject. In fact the Charter was now held to provide no taxation without consent of Parliament; freedom from arbitrary arrest; no imprisonment without trial; and trial by jury. Whether these profound principles can truly be found in Magna Carta is no great matter; the important thing, as Miss Thompson says, is that, "though the Charter was often only one of many precedents advanced in a given cause, what a precedent it was!" However curious Coke's interpretation of the Charter as a historical document, it gave him the opportunity to assert the principles which truly distinguish a free from an unfree society; and of these principles *habeas corpus* is undoubtedly the most important. Or rather, *habeas corpus* as interpreted by two centuries of Anglo-Saxon judges. It is little consolation to be brought to trial if this is preceded by secret inquiry; and an Englishman may be forgiven for thinking that the "judges' rules," which forbid the procuring of evidence by means of threats or inducements (rules which have little parallel in the United States), are even more essential than *habeas corpus*.

Miss Thompson arrests her narrative in 1629, when the Charter was still principally used to defend the liberty of the subject as a process of law. In the eighteenth century the Charter took on a new form and was used as a defense for all the corruptions and delays of the courts of common law: if a man could escape justice by a technicality, this was regarded as a victory for the Charter—a view still general in the United States, though not in the Charter's country of origin. For one of the great English discoveries of the

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nineteenth century was that lawyers can be as tyrannical as monarchs or dictators unless they are kept in check by an informed public opinion. This explains, I think, the new role which the Charter came to play in the works of the nineteenth-century constitutional historians, such as Hallam or Stubbs. Though it preceded parliaments, it came to be regarded as in some sense their origin or justification; and in the popular view Magna Carta was supposed to provide for government by Kings, Lords and Commons.

What new form will it take on now? Since it was originally a charter of privileges, it might well be revived (or perhaps has already been) in defense of the privilege of private property: Wall Street could be substituted for the City of London, and the Roman Church for the *Ecclesia Anglicana* (no one else seems eager to claim the heritage). New barons could easily take the place of old; and the process of social change again resisted in the name of freedom. But, though one might explain away the Charter, it will be more difficult to explain away the glosses on the Charter which were devised by the great lawyers of the seventeenth century. No imprisonment without trial, with its corollary of trial by due process of law, remains the deepest of political rights; and the possession of this right imposes on the two nations which have inherited the legend of the Charter the duty to maintain their standards of impartial justice and not pervert their inheritance of liberty into the defense of conservatism and privilege.

A. J. P. Taylor is a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and author of The Course of German History *and* The Hapsburg Monarchy: 1809-1918.

BY ITS BOOTSTRAPS

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, by Herbert Brucker (Macmillan; $4).

IT IS USEFUL to have a stalwart and unashamed defense of contemporary journalism by one of its honorable and experienced practitioners. The American press has not lacked critics of late. Herbert Brucker, editor of the Hartford *Courant*, must himself be counted among them; but while thoroughly cognizant of journalistic evils and inadequacies, of the dangers of concentrated control and editorial bias, he is a vigorous champion of the press both against those who indiscriminately disparage its present performance and those who would "free" it by subjecting it to controls. In *Freedom of Information*, he seeks improvment of the press but with confidence that it can be achieved within our traditional concept of press freedom.

Brucker understands and makes quite clear that freedom of the press in the American sense of the term means simply immunity from regulation by government. This is, of course, the sole sense of the First Amendment's guarantee. The authors of the Constitution, far from sanctioning censorship of the press by government, sought censorship of government by the press. It is in this sense that Brucker employs the term Fourth Estate, observing that "all other estates of the social order . . . stand together on one side of a line while the Fourth Estate remains on the other." He speaks of it correctly as a "monitor of the government." Recognition of this historic and essential function of the press in a free society is basic to any intelligent discussion of the subject.

While dealing in minor measure with other media of mass communication, Brucker focuses attention principally upon newspapers. So far as they are concerned, he says, "freedom of the press seems to mean only the right of fewer than 1,800 newspaper publishers and their editors to impose their own picture of the physical world upon the minds of 145 million Americans." This picture, he acknowledges, is sometimes distorted by the prejudices and economic interests of publishers. But in the main it is a more accurate picture than that presented by the press of any other country and has improved mightily, under our system of press freedom, over American journalism of the past:

> The journalism of today is not America's final, best product. We are simply midway, perhaps much farther than midway, along the road. . . . And our newspapers and their critics alike will find that no doctrine imported from abroad, no inspiration dreamed up in Washington, no theory invented in an academic ivory tower, points the way ahead. That way lies in following to the end the same natural, spontaneous course into the future we have followed in the past.

Better, perhaps, than most detractors of the press, Brucker appreciates the difficulties and complexities of reporting the news. An illuminating chapter of *Freedom of Information* is devoted to showing in detail how a major national story is moved from its source in Washington by press-association reporters and other correspondents through the newsrooms of newspapers and radio networks to the printed page and the loudspeaker.

But in marveling at this achievement, Brucker takes too little into account the stereotypes as to what constitutes news which inhibit reporting, the headline sensationalism which so frequently throws even accurate reporting entirely out of perspective, the blatant purveying of sex and scandal in the guise of news, the tendency among many newspapers, especially in communities where they are without competition, to ignore, as not newsworthy, conflicts and controversial problems which ought to be matters of urgent concern.

Objectivity, in Brucker's view, is America's great contribution to journalism. He is indisputably right in attributing the great strides which the press has made in the last century to development of the tradition of objective reporting. But the tradition has serious limitations which make it much less than the cure-all he supposes it to be. No doubt it is objective, and even accurate, reporting for a newspaper to say, for example, that Dr. Edward U. Condon has been characterized by a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee as the weakest link in the nation's chain of atomic security. But it is also grossly misleading unless set in perspective by interpretation. Indiscriminate objectivity too frequently makes

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the press a tool for those best versed in the uses of publicity.

Brucker's passion for objectivity leads him to look forward to the day "when editorial policies as well as news policies will be objective," when publishers will "cease being advocates, and become judges." By objectivity, he means fairness. Thus the ideal is praiseworthy even if unattainable. But it is liable to be misleading. The pervading defect of American editorial pages today is not so much their partisanship as their apathy. If they are to be saved from desuetude, they need passion even more than they need objectivity.

Freedom of Information is marred in its generally nice balance between championship and criticism of the press by Brucker's disposition to assault hobgoblins of his own contriving. There is a diatribe in which he likens the American Newspaper Guild to the Nazi Chamber of Culture and charges that "its use of hard-boiled union tactics to gather ever more newspaper workers into the fold and its reaching out for office and clerical employes in order to achieve more power hardly constitutes resistance to the trend in Dr. Goebbels' direction." This sort of extravagance, so reminiscent of publisher outcries that freedom of the press was threatened by the Wagner Act, child-labor legislation or a minimum-wage guarantee, must seem as senseless and as doctrinaire to many readers as to this reviewer, who is a member of the Guild.

Brucker is rather full of scorn for "liberals"—who, he seems to think, want to impose government controls upon the press—and full of exhortation for publishers—to whom, in his conclusion, he proposes a kind of Hippocratic oath of objectivity and devotion to the public weal. But one wonders how far the latter are likely to follow his excellent counsel if some of his own crotchets accurately reflect their prejudices.

ALAN BARTH

Alan Barth is at present a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, on leave of absence from his duties as an editorial writer for the Washington Post.

JUSTICE FOR FORD

TRAINED FOR GENIUS: THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FORD MADOX FORD, by Douglas Goldring (E. P. Dutton; $3.75).

WHEN FORD MADOX FORD died in France in the summer of 1939, his death was little remarked. Perhaps it was obscured by the shattering events of the time, or perhaps Ford continued to suffer in death what Douglas Goldring records in this book as being "'disciplined,' sent to coventry, blackballed or heavily ignored by the influential, the respectable, the academic." That grievance, at any rate, echoes in these pages, and their aim is to redress an ill-deserved obscurity, first by securing justice for the man, but more important (as the only justice Ford would have cared about) by directing attention to his books.

But with all respect and sympathy for its aim, I doubt this is the book to achieve it. It is only fair to add that Goldring disarms criticism: he makes no pretensions to a full biography. Rather "it seemed to the writer worthwhile to make what, in the eighteenth century, was modestly termed 'collections for a life of . . .'" Many of the data collected are included, if scarcely assimilated, in their original form. It becomes tedious when Goldring quotes from such sources as old book reviews, but quite the reverse when he prints series of letters from Conrad and Henry James. But as this is admittedly not a critical volume, it could only persuade potential readers through curiosity about the man himself.

As for the interest of the man himself, the public facts are all here. To an almost unique extent, Ford was in touch with the significant developments in English-speaking literature from the 1870's to the 1930's. He was born in the Pre-Raphaelite group, the grandson of Ford Madox Brown and the cousin of the Rossettis. As an intimate friend, he collaborated with Conrad on several novels. Later, he edited the *English Review*, and was closely associated (before the First World War) with Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis. During his "olympian" days in the Paris of the twenties, he edited the *transatlantic review*, was noted for his un-English devotion to his craft, his hospitality ("Ford never lacked for friends and admirers even if he did not always keep them") and his patient kindness to the aspiring young.

But while all this is duly noted, the more intimate descriptions of Ford's personality do not succeed. To be more exact, the author fails to face them squarely. That effort at vindication noted above seems to deny Ford's personality, writing off many of his remarkable peculiarities as "childish faults" or "a distressing tendency to 'show off'." What *was* "Ford's irritating manner," and how was it expressive of his person? Such generalities fail to acknowledge and hence to account for an undoubtedly complex personality. To explain some crucial decision in his subject's life by "a moment of aberration" is surely to

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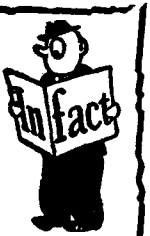

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evade the obligations of a biographer.

The most fantastic incident Goldring relates is connected with Ford's divorce. He opens the account with this remark: "In making his preliminary dispositions for his impending divorce, Ford acted in accordance with all the accepted rules of honorable conduct." The facts follow: When his wife refused the divorce he requested, Ford went to Germany, thinking he could get a divorce in that country. When his plans fell through, he *pretended* all the same to have got the divorce and returned to England, *pretending* to be married to Violet Hunt (a public figure in her own right), and giving press interviews about an imaginary inherited barony. The way to treat *that* incident is not to pass it off as something anyone might have done under the distressing circumstances!

"Ford regarded facts as raw material, to be handled by the artist with complete freedom for the purpose of enhancing whatever effect it was his desire to create." The facts referred to are those of Ford's life as well as of the many public figures who people his volumes of reminiscence. This "complete freedom" kept a great many people in a state of consternation for many years, and it was merely one of the more unfriendly who characterized Ford as the "liar as artist." Goldring's emphasis is rather on the artist: "He regards words, as a painter regards paints, purely as the raw material of his art and without the slightest reference to the facts conveyed by them in normal social intercourse."

To attempt to explain away the frequent instances of this peculiarity is simply to deny a significant aspect of the subject's character. A more detached and penetrating observation was made by H. G. Wells (a loyal friend): "What he is really, or if he is really, nobody knows now and he least of all; he has become a great system of assumed personas and dramatized selves."

It would seem that this indifference to factual accuracy was connected with Ford's intense preoccupation with the *technique* of his craft. The *effect* was a truth in itself whether or not it corresponded to any objective data. One can only grant him his success; almost anything he wrote is a pleasure to read and deserves the attention Goldring has so correctly claimed for it.

JOHN FARRELLY

THE FIRST PLAYER

GARRICK, by Margaret Barton (Macmillan; $5).

THE THEATRE has a history, but profits have no past. The theatre in our time and place being primarily a business (shoddy), very few people are concerned with its roots and forebears. If our theatre were truly alive, if its workers were inspired to treat themselves as artists rather than as worried job-hunters, if its critics were more than registrars of the play market, they

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would find theatre history of something more than academic or sentimental interest.

Margaret Barton's book on Garrick, the most renowned actor in English theatre history, is distinctly above the level of most stage biographies. It is not a mushy encomium, a retrospective publicity blurb for a one-time stage favorite; it is a solid documentation of facts eminently worth remembering in considering not only the theatre of old but the theatre today. Though the picture Miss Barton draws is a little undifferentiated, mingling its biographical data, literary allusions, historical color and personal comment without special emphasis on any single element, what stays with us as most significant are the salient features of the eighteenth-century English theatre (1749-1776) and David Garrick's pivotal role in it.

Garrick revived the English theatre audiences' appetite for Shakespeare even though his versions of Shakespeare's plays were only a little less mangled than those of his predecessors. Garrick effected his revolution by the introduction of naturalism into his acting. Garrick's naturalism was not ours, but it served to discredit the idea that acting was synonymous with declamation. Not only was his playing based on an observation of life, but he established a continuity of pattern that gives his interpretations a wholeness difficult to achieve when acting was thought of in terms of separate "arias." It was an innovation in those days to go on acting between one's speeches. "When three or four are on the stage with him," said one astonished observer, "he is attentive to whatever is spoken, and never drops his character when he has finished a speech."

What is remarkable in all this is not simply the reminder that acting was not always what it is today (we need not suppose that it was bad before it got to be what we are familiar with) but that the change in acting was one of the earliest expressions of the new romanticism which was to transform not only the theatre in England and Europe but poetry, art, moral concepts and the mode of life. The new naturalism of romanticism meant that the individual in all the particularity of his private emotions had in every field come to occupy the center of the stage. In the theatre of the eighteenth century it was almost entirely in acting alone that the new romanticism became evident. Even in the early nineteenth century, the romanticism of the English poets had no new literary equivalent in the theatre as French romanticism did in the plays of Hugo, de Vigny and de Musset. (I am not forgetting such things as Shelley's "Cenci.") It was the actor Edmund Kean who embodied English romanticism in the theatre of that period. Through this fact we learn once more that the theatre in its purely theatrical attributes may be expressive of states of mind typical of a whole epoch.

It is instructive, too, to analyze the elements that went into the making of Garrick's acting. For some time before Garrick, the French harlequinade which had developed into the English pantomime had been taking popular precedence over Shakespeare in the London theatre. Shakespeare was being stultified in the dreariness of traditional elocution, whereas the pantomime possessed the animal vigor of the streets. Garrick learned from the pantomime how thought could be conveyed through gesture, movement, the physical life of the stage. Garrick discovered what the forebears of pantomime, the Italian comedians, had always known: that the source of the actor's art is not the dramatist's word but the actor's body.

Garrick's peculiar reverence for Shakespeare (whom he "adapted") as well as his actor's instinct led him to such vital reforms as the practice of casting minor parts carefully. He also modified the bull-ring atmosphere of the eighteenth-century stage, got rid of the fops who enjoyed watching plays from the wings, and inspired actors with a greater respect for their profession. He advised a theatre novice "to seek good company *away from the stage*, and to enlarge his knowledge of literature and life."

Miss Barton's book stimulates reflection in all directions: her remarks about the effect of candlelight on the acting of Garrick's time make us think of the relation of the later technics—gas light and electricity—to the audience psychology of later periods. Her comments on the beginnings of naturalism in acting reminds me how the wheel of time has turned so that today a revolutionary modern, Berthold Brecht, asks us to create a new anti-naturalism.

It was Garrick's glory to have begun that train of thought in the theatre which might be said to have culminated in the teachings of Stanislavsky. We find Garrick saying with brilliant intuition: "The greatest strokes of genius have been unknown to the actor himself till circumstances and the warmth of the sun have sprung the mine, as it were, as much to his own surprise as to that of the audience."

HAROLD CLURMAN

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ON THE AIR: The Madness Spreads

IT IS SOMETIMES a question whether broadcasters are as smart as their pay checks would imply. Radio has been in hot water because of its swagbag programs for some time now, but while CBS and Mutual fell all over themselves imitating ABC's "Stop the Music," NBC stood aloof. The Federal Communications Commission made faces at the giveaways, and still has a suggestion in its "pending" file that giveaways be outlawed as lotteries. Now, with FCC about to make up its mind, NBC is preparing to go into the jackpot business itself.

Meanwhile, ABC's television branch is taking another step in the direction of "policy." It is planning a quiz game on which viewers will be given prizes if the last digits of their social security card or telephone number coincide with a number selected by the program's master of ceremonies. For this, science gave us the iconoscope and the kinescope, the image orthicon camera and the zoomar lens. Bingo!

"Stop the Music," which turned quiz shows into swagbag madness, looked more like entertainment when it came to ABC-TV. On Thursday nights, from eight to nine, the something-for-nothing hysteria is tied neatly into a variety program with a fast pace and engaging numbers. Bert Parks runs the proceedings on television as he does on radio. On the screen he shows why no satirist has ever successfully imitated him. Only Parks can knock himself out like Parks, and the impersonators understate their case. It's probably just as well; the nation's nerves couldn't stand two of them.

Television's "Stop the Music" brings me back for a moment to the film documentary based on General Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe* which I reviewed here last week. "Crusade" follows the Parks piece on ABC-TV, which means that a large audience is sure to be on hand when the Luce-sponsored film starts rolling into the living room. The second chapter of this historical re-creation of World War II ended with a brief film spot showing General Omar Bradley. But he was not talking about the war of 1939-45. He spoke of what had just been shown as proof of our "resolution," our "strength," our "greatness." The pattern of "Crusade" seems to be taking shape quickly.

Opposite ABC-TV's "Stop the Music," Thursday from eight to nine, CBS has unveiled a new video program called "54th Street Review." It is loose-jointed song-and-dance stuff, and the one man on the program who might hold it together is thus far wasted. He is Jack Sterling, who took over Arthur Godfrey's early-morning chores on CBS.

On radio, also, CBS has been fumbling. Its new program on Wednesday night from 9:30 to 10:30 is called "This Is Broadway." Clifton Fadiman acts as master of ceremonies for a team of experts composed of George S. Kaufman and Abe Burrows, plus a guest judge. What they're supposed to be expert about is unclear. Entertainers with alleged problems are introduced at each session. One recently was Artie Shaw, whose only problem, it appeared, was keeping track of the number of his wives. Another was Mary McCarty, one of the season's more sensational musical-comedy and radio successes. These people need little advice on show business from any of the panel members.

Others who appeared before the doctors were a talent agent who'd like to sing but has no voice, a comedian specializing in Brooklynese who might have been a hit on Godfrey's "Talent Scouts" program, and a Broadway understudy whose difficulty is that her star declines to drop dead.

"This Is Broadway" could be made entertaining if it had a pilot with an interest in the guests; Fadiman seems to lack it. One detects a patronizing

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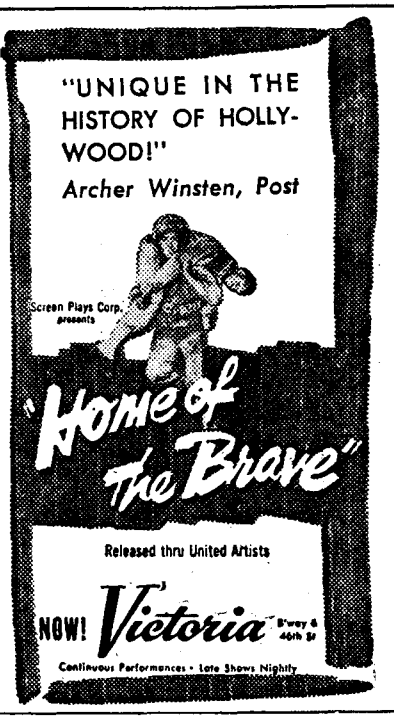
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note. Instead of an aloof highbrow, the show needs a longhair with a sense of folk humor. Burrows is on the program already and CBS should let him carry it.

The night of May 14, ABC-radio carried an excellent half-hour documentary. Starring Melvyn Douglas and Aline MacMahon, "From Where We Came" traced the growth of the Textile Workers' Union of America (CIO) to commemorate that organization's tenth anniversary. Not since the AFL's series against Taft-Hartley two years ago have I heard such outright union-preaching done so dramatically on the air. Morton Wishengrad, who wrote the script, and the director, Martin Andrews, wove together the professional cast and the prominent speakers—these included Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Chester Bowles, Emil Rieve and Senator Frank P. Graham—so that the result was a powerful lesson in trade unionism. If you heard the program and failed to send your compliments to all concerned, it is not yet too late.

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Italian Children

IT CAN ALMOST be stated as a rule that any Italian film with children in it is worth seeing. The streets of Rome and Florence and Naples apparently swarm with some of the best actors in the world. That is a lucky circumstance for Italian directors, though you will be happier if you do not speculate on what experiences may have produced the graceful agility, the precocious understanding and the startling faces of these anonymous stars.

"Guaglio," the new import, contains 20 street urchins and is good precisely because of them. The picture has a promising idea: a virginal young priest, about to depart for an African mission, is moved by the woeful neglect into which the Neapolitan children have fallen, and cancels his sailing to care for them. Trustingly, he takes under his wing a gang of seasoned rogues who accept as a hideout what he proffers as a haven; innocently he uses their stolen wealth to build his hostel. Eventually, however, his unalloyed virtue touches the hearts of these unpromising charges and by the end of the film the work of rehabilitation is well established.

There are opportunities here for poignant drama and for humor, but though both are tried neither really succeeds. For one thing, the picture is too much a tract; the plot seems devised to convey a message, not written to tell a story, and you wait moment to moment for the announcement that "the ushers will now pass among you." For another, Adolfo Celli, who plays the priest (he is one of only two professionals in a large cast), has not the metal to ring against his youngsters. He is so handicapped by prodigies of innocence as to seem a trifle slow-witted in the circumstances. A little shrewdness, some wit, a flash of anger would have made him more a match for the vitality of the boys. As it is, the struggle is hopelessly uneven and the solution arbitrary.

It strikes an American audience as grotesque, too, that the priest's reforming zeal should be ignited by a showing of the American film based on Father Flanagan's Boys' Town. The malady seems obvious enough to suggest its own cure without this act of providence from Nebraska.

You may be interested to know that when an Italian cleric prepares for missionary work in Africa, he grows a luxuriant beard. This impresses the natives and speeds up conversions.

H. G. Wells wrote the novel from which J. Arthur Rank's "One Woman's Story" is taken, and Eric Ambler prepared the screen play. The chemical reaction between these two talents

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must have been disastrous, for they have produced the nearest thing possible to a dramatic vacuum.

The film considers the case of a young woman (Ann Todd, who is attractive except for her hard little mouth) unable to choose between the adventure of love and the comfort of security. The horns of her dilemma are represented, and no more than represented, by Trevor Howard and Claude Rains. She is married to Rains, a banker, but every time she runs into Howard, a teacher, she feels almost like tossing her hair in the moonlight. Almost, but not quite, and no one could possibly care except the two much-put-upon gentlemen. In the end, she almost, but not quite, throws herself on the tracks of the Underground, and this puts a stop to a picture that, lacking originality, ingenuity or persuasion, could not very well have a conclusion.

"The Stratton Story" is based rather closely on the experiences of Monty Stratton, a big-league ball player who lost a leg in a hunting accident and whose gallantry in this misfortune won him a wide and deserved admiration. It would have been a better picture if it had not forced some of those experiences beyond probability; it would have been better if it could have avoided the obvious traps of sentimentality. But even so, it is above average family entertainment; funny in parts and edifying throughout.

James Stewart, as the young Stratton, plays the pitching phenomenon from the back country with a pleasant Will Rogers wit, and in the ball-park sequences looks astonishingly like a professional. Frank Morgan contributes his familiar brand of disreputable plausibility, and June Allyson is present as the girl any boy's mother would be happy to welcome into the family even if he did meet her on a blind date.

Several well-known ball players appear, particularly Bill Dickey and Jimmy Dykes. They sensibly stick to their own game. ROBERT HATCH

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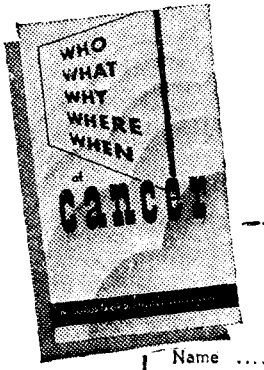

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